592 comparable to what our law defines as a family. In fact, the
601 four terms just discussed, ton', ba-denya, gwa, and so, are
596 all used for the purpose. It is what is intended by their use that gives them their meaning, and depending on the region, each term has a meaning made precise by usage.

592 The dwelling of the Bambara family usually includes
342 a fairly large number of huts of various kinds. Some are cylindrical and built of native masonry with a conical straw roof and, for a door, a slit or opening which does not extend all the way to the ground. Others are parallelepiped, made of native masonry, and ordinarily also provided with no opening except the door.

Shelters (gwa), consisting of flat straw roofs supported on forked sticks, are usually placed haphazardly or wherever the master of the house wants them and are certainly not governed by any traditional rules or fixed orientation. All these dwellings or out-buildings are enclosed by either a clay wall
[343] or an unbroken hedge whose two ends are supported by the walls of the hut called blon' which serves as a vestibule for the establishment.

[178] The altar of the ancestors and of the household gods is found in the blon'.

The houses of notables are somewhat more elaborately arranged: instead of a single inner court, there are two, three, or even more, sometimes graduated in extent. The master arranges his people in such a way as to divide into sections the heterogeneous elements gathered together under his protection.
592 The domestic servants and the young [161] men, the women, girls, and small children, and finally the eventual successor are, as it were, fenced apart in their own blocks of dwellings, while the fa himself is to be found in impressive isolation, which lends weight to his authority.

592 Among great personages, especially among heads of
712 clans, this arrangement is the rule, and their isolation deep in the interior is virtually a security measure. In the old days a kind of fortress or redoubt, the tata, was built in the center of the royal residence. Gunpowder, weapons, and all the means of defense were kept there, and it was no easy matter to capture

241 may be set too early, and no amount of advice to be patient will retard it. However, for the millets, fonio, and rice, the visible characters of ripeness are known and respected (opening of the husk in the case of millet, color and bowing of the spike in the case of fonio and rice).

242 824 When a field is exhausted, it is allowed to lie fallow, and another terrain is cleared of brush, sometimes several kilometers from the village. A field is recognized as being exhausted when a variety of plant known as sege (Striga senegalensis Benth) appears spontaneously; when the soil is reconstituted and regains its richness, tiekala (Cymbopogon giganteus Benth) and wägha (Andropogon Gayanus Kunth) appear, which indicates that the field may again be cultivated. Thus, the fields are rotated around the village that cultivates them, 342 following a cycle which may last 20 years. Temporary dwellings are set up near the fields under cultivation, and the farmer lives there during the work with each of his wives in turn.

[29] B. Food Crops

243 The Bambara cultivate food plants and textile plants. Millet is the basic crop in the savanna. The pénicillaires, small millet (Pennisetum typhoïdeum R.), are cultivated very far north. Their types are characterized by the length of their vegetative cycles, which vary from 65 to 140 days. In general, they are sown in a rather light soil at the beginning of the rainy season. The grain is put in the ground, without preliminary working of the soil, in holes one pace apart and a few centimeters deep. A pinch of seed is put in each hole, and one to three subsequent workings are given the soil; the first, 15 days after reaping, the others in July and August. The yield varies from 350 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare.

The sorghums (Sorghum vulgare) include a considerable number of varieties with vegetative cycles varying from 120 to 150 days. M. Vichon has collected 11 samples of sugar sorghums, 132 of late mid-season, 87 early, 138 of transplants. M. Creak divides the sorghums into three types: with full, compact, conical spikes; with elongated spikes and more detached spikelets; with very elongated spikes and with spikelets even more detached from the axis. A third

Before the French conquest,
712 Bambara villages were fortified. They were protected by a triple enclosure of clay blocks following a line of beams that sheltered the sentinels. The first wall enclosed the village and the surrounding gardens, the second circled the interior of the village, and the third surrounded the chief's houses. These walls could be as high as five meters and as wide as two meters at the base. They had a ditch in front of them and were re-inforced by steps. Considerable ruins of these fortifications may still be seen in the Kourolamini at Ténintu (Bougouni circle).

House construction. (1) Throughout the Sudan, house con-
342

1. Information, in part, given by Moussa Traoré, from the village of Gouani (Diemandougou canton), Bamako circle.

struction is carried out during the dry season. The same is true for repairs, except for the most urgent caused by damage from rains, streaming waters, violent winds, or by the ravages of termites.

Choice of the site. The choice is often made near a tem-
342 361 porary or permanent watercourse where wells may be sunk. A sooth-
787 778 sayer or Marabout is next consulted, who reveals the existence of a spirit whose favorite place is the cailcedra; if the spirit is benevolent, the installation is authorized, and the sacred tree becomes the altar of the collectivity. It is bathed with periodic sacrifices.

342 Types of habitation. 1. The round hut with thatched roof (tuba bo); 2 the square or rectangular hut (bili) with flat roof.

Round hut. The man drives a stake to which he attaches a cord 1.50 meters long at the most, which is also tied to the head of
[401] a hoe. The man circles the stake and traces a circumference that will be the scheme of the house. No foundation is laid. A series of double pickets (kassassin) is set up around the circumference. A bamboo strip is passed in and out between the double stakes, and this basketwork is raised from the ground up to a height of about two meters.

When the cylinder forming the walls of the base is finished, a door is cut, facing south, 25 centimeters from the ground and 1.50 meters high. One then plasters with banco, that is, with earth dug not far from the hut by the young people and made into a paste with a mixture of fonio straw, cow dung, and water drawn by the women. The roof is constructed on the ground. A circumference equal to that

342 of the hut is traced; around this, four large bamboo stakes are erected which are all tied together at one end with a fiber rope. A large stone is placed on top of the pyramid to weigh on the stakes and keep them properly apart. Near the top, two bamboo strips are tied around the four stakes, one on the outside and the other on the inside: this is the midio. Other stakes are slipped between the four principal ones and are attached to the double hoop. Equally spaced, [101] seven or eight other circles are tied on, descending toward the base of the cone. For covering the roof, straw of tji le, very thin and white, is chosen, which will be the most rainproof, or else straw of black uro-ba-bi, "hyena grass", coarser and less esteemed. A layer of straw is spread on, attached to the top, and sewed to the first two circles. A third hoop placed over the two others keeps the straw in place. Then a second row is put on and sewed to the last hoop, at ground level. The succeeding rows then are laid from the bottom up to the top in such a manner that they partially cover each other. When the bottom row has been sewed, the roof is lifted, and a small child slips inside to pull in the bamboo needle used to sew the straw to the hoops. When the roof is entirely sewed, a man climbs up, knocks the stone off the top, and takes its place. He slips a hoop made of six bamboo strips over the first three hoops of the roof, attaching it with the aid of two crossed sticks that pierce the roof. He gathers the straw at the top between the ends of the four stakes which are sticking out and knots and plaits it "like a woman's hair." If the roof is to cover a woman's hut, this is not done, but the straw which sticks out is folded down and held by the first hoop. Finally, from 15 to 30 young men assemble and lift the roof onto the hut.

At the present time, walls of basketwork and banco are replaced by walls made of molded banco bricks, dried in the sun.

[177] Rectangular or square hut. This form is of recent importation in the Bamako and Bougouni circles; it is frequently found starting at Ségou and up to the Sahel.

This type is constructed with dried bricks. When the roof is flat, it rests on forked wooden posts that are planted in the ground or that stand on big flat stones. There are five, seven, or nine of these posts, including a central one. Beams are placed in the forks; joists go across the supports. The whole is covered with matting which is packed with a layer of banco mixed with karite butter or with nere flour. The roof is constructed with a slight incline to let the water run off, and it is tamped with the bumbuli, a sort of wooden

342 shovel. A coping of bricks is then laid out around the roof, leaving room for the gutters which spill into the streets. These houses may be topped with a second roof, a thatched cone. The four chief timbers are set at the four angles of the house. There is a door in the first ceiling, and precious goods or objects are kept in this part of the house. As in the round huts, the door always opens to the south.

[237] The outside of the houses are plastered with earth mixed with cow dung; on the inside, the floor and lower part of the walls are daubed with black earth mixed with fresh cow manure and bark from [824] the jumbo tree (Napoleona Heudelotii); the upper walls and the ceiling are covered with white river clay. Where the two colors meet, [531] lines of festoons traced with the finger symbolize the descent of the third Word. On the white walls are painted ladders, calabash spoons, animsla, signs conveying [102] the worldly situation of the owner as well as the soul of the artist.

[356] The periphery of the entrance door is daubed with fresh cow [769] dung every 15 days, and more liberally with rotted cow dung once a year before the rains. This custom is linked to ancestor worship.

Canari [earthenware vessels] containing certain plants are 353 buried under the bed of the head of the family; other plants and 352 juice from roots are hidden under the women's beds. The boli are hooked to the roofing of the houses for they must touch neither earth, water, nor fire. Nets, diakumadjulu, are hung from the ceiling; they hold clothes or calabashes for the food; mats or animal skins are spread on the ground; beds, different-sized calabashes, and stools complete the furnishings. The different huts belonging to one family 351 are surrounded by a wall that opens into the vestibule of a hut with 342 two doors, oriented north-south. This is where the head of the [354] family receives strangers. In the inside court are found hearths made of three stones, mortars for millet, and chicken coops, a sort of small square hut made of clay mixed with straw. The granaries, 343 constructed on piles, have the form of round huts. They are divided 251 into four parts, where the four principal grains are kept: millet, rice, fonio, ground nuts. Some grains may be kept together in the same compartment, for example, millet and ground nuts. Certain granaries, bonio, are veritable cigar-shaped pots made by the blacksmiths' wives. When the bonio is finished, it is cut into sections

343 which are dried. Then it is reassembled without sealing the pieces
251 together, and as the level of the provisions goes down, the unnecessary sections are taken off. The kitchens are situated to the west of the rooms.

Arrangement of the huts in a concession. The chief's hut is
342 always to the east, for he must see the sun rise. His hut is often
361 quadrangular and has several rooms. The women's huts are generally round; each has its kitchen situated to the west and closed by a separate lock. Private shower rooms are reserved for husbands and
[514] wives. Privy cabinets with two holes, one for urine and one for stool, are stopped up and condemned when they are full.

312 Finally, the well is sunk in the middle of the court or else in the immediate proximity of the concession. Water is drawn directly with a calabash fixed to a long rope.

342 Sometimes individual huts are constructed on piles for protection against mosquitoes at night; the only opening is a trap door in the floor by which the hut is entered.

g. Tombs

764 An old custom had the family heads buried in their huts. The Fama were buried in the courts of their fortified palaces, to the northwest. Babies were buried near their mothers' huts, for their return was awaited. At the present time the Bambara are buried in cemeteries following Moslem or animist custom.

[767] [103] The brotherhood priests dig the graves; tombs may be individual or collective. Monteil (Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta [The Bambara of Ségou and Kaarta]) describes a chief's tomb: the vault has the form of a parallelepiped; the lower base is one meter wide and two long, the upper base three wide and two long, and a vertical partition of 1.50 meters forms a right angle with the bases.

In Ouassoulou the custom was to dig a common tomb of several chambers for the whole family. A square entrance about two meters high and two wide led into a narrow corridor that opened on a first chamber reserved for children; another corridor connected the first chamber with a second, larger one reserved for women and for adult males; from this a third corridor led to a last chamber, a smaller one for heads of the family. An oil lamp was placed at the

796 the sacrifice is furnished by the children themselves; all of them to-
857 gether work a small field for this purpose during the winter, and if the harvest is not sufficient, they go begging from door to door so that nothing will be lacking at the feast -- neither d'lo, the millet beer, nor kola nuts. On the evening of this great day, each new initiate chooses his n'golo mouso, as they call the little girl each one takes as his "sister of the heart," his bonne amie as one would say in France /his girlfriend/. But she is more; she is a little maid of all work, and the gift which he gives her every year at the celebration is more a payment than a gift of friendship, "pure and simple." /94/

7. The Genie Protector of Circumcised Youths

794 At circumcision the Bambara leave the association of the n'tomo
776 and place themselves under the protection of more powerful genii.
778 These genii are all of the same nature, only the name differs with each region, and all the confraternities are copied after one and the same model. The most widespread is that of the n'golo (1).

1. In Bani it is the n'goso rather than the n'golo.

The n'golo is nothing but two forked branches fastened together and hung on a light dioma (2). One can meet it quite often in a

[342]

2. Dioma are forked sticks on which rest the crossbars or beams that hold up the flat terrace roofs. The name dioma is given to all forked sticks, small and large.

corner of the village, out of doors, but usually it is under a small shed or hut. This genie gives the youths not only strength, vigor, and health, but also the talent, if not of pleasing women, at least of attracting them and thus being able to obtain some crude satisfactions. It helps the unmarried to meet the girl of the moment, and thanks to it,

Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
Bambara FA8

S /376 cont./

369 The appearance of the village itself varies according to
361 the ethnic groups. Among the None, it is tightly grouped
SR around a little central plaza, in the middle of which grows a
[361] majestic baobab. The Wolof disperses his compounds of huts,
W each delimited by a tapade (1) made of plaited millet-stalks.
[361]
[351]

1. Tapade: a kind of walling made of straw, bamboo, branches, which separates the space between two familial compounds.

This dispersion is also found at Karamoko and at Keur-Issa-Bambara.

Apparently the city seems not to have had an influence on the arrangement proper of the village. It has very nearly preserved its old plan.

S Even today the traditional mode of construction of the
342 hut appears different according to the ethnic group. The None
SR erect strong mud dwellings on a square base with a floor of
[342] stamped earth; the whole is covered by a roof of thatch. The
[343] kitchen, on the other hand, is made of some posts fastened to the ground itself and supporting a roof of palmyra leaves.

W /377/ The Wolof prefers straw or plaited millet stalks as
[342] material. The house rests merely on the sandy ground, without any floor of stamped earth. The Bambara willingly lives in a
B hut of straw, but he is careful to fill in the interstices with mud.
[342] The floor is of stamped earth; a wide pent roof generally protects the entrance. Sometimes two huts are connected by a kind of veranda where he spends the evening; mud is frequently utilized in this group. /Fig. 2 appears here./

S The proximity of the city has to a certain extent improved
SR the traditional modes of construction. The plan and the material
342 used have been improved.
369 The hut with a single room and a square base has been replaced by a cottage with a rectangular base and often containing two rooms with the narrow window closed by a solid shutter.